

A *Trade in America*
CAUTION
AND
WARNING
TO
GREAT-BRITAIN,
AND
Her COLONIES,
IN
A SHORT REPRESENTATION
OF THE
CALAMITOUS STATE
OF THE
ENSLAVED NEGROES
in the *British* DOMINIONS.

Collected from various AUTHORS, and submitted to the
SERIOUS CONSIDERATION of ALL, more
especially of THOSE in POWER.

To which is added,

An EXTRACT of a SERMON, preached by the BISHOP of
GLOUCESTER, before the SOCIETY for the Propagation
of the GOSPEL.

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A
C A U T I O N
A N D
W A R N I N G, &c.

AT a Time when the general Rights and Liberties of Mankind, and the Preservation of those valuable Privileges, transmitted to us from our Ancestors, are become so much the Subjects of universal Consideration; can it be an Enquiry indifferent to any, how many of those who distinguish themselves as the Advocates of Liberty, remain insensible and inattentive to the Treatment of Thousands and Tens of Thousands of our Fellow-Men, who, from Motives of Avarice, and the inexorable Decree of Tyrant Custom, are at this very Time kept in the most deplorable State of Slavery, in many Parts of the *British* Dominions?

A

The

The Intent of publishing the following Sheets, is more fully to make known the aggravated Iniquity attending the Practice of the Slave-trade; whereby many Thousands of our Fellow-Creatures, as free as ourselves by Nature, and equally with us the Subjects of Christ's redeeming Grace, are yearly brought into inextricable and barbarous Bondage; and many, very many, to miserable and untimely Ends.

The Truth of this lamentable Complaint is so obvious to Persons of Candour, under whose Notice it hath fallen, that several have lately published their Sentiments thereon, as a Matter which calls for the most serious Consideration of all who are concerned for the civil or religious Welfare of their Country. How an Evil, of so deep a Dye, hath so long not only passed uninterrupted by Those in Power, but hath even had their Countenance, is indeed surprising, and, Charity would suppose, must, in a great Measure, have arisen from this, that many Persons in Government, both of the Clergy and Laity, in whose Power it hath been to put a Stop to the Trade, have been unacquainted with the corrupt Motives which give Life to it; and the Groans, the dying Groans, which daily ascend to God, the common Father of Mankind, from the broken

ken Hearts of those his deeply oppressed Creatures; otherwise the Powers of the Earth would not, I think I may venture to say, could not, have so long authoris'd a Practice so inconsistent with every Idea of Liberty and Justice, which, as the learned *James Foster* says, *Bids that God, which is the God and Father of the Gentiles, unconverted to Christianity, most daring and bold Defiance; and spurns at all the Principles both of natural and revealed Religion.*

Much might justly be said of the temporal Evils which attend this Practice, as it is destructive of the Welfare of human Society, and of the Peace and Prosperity of every Country, in Proportion as it prevails. It might be also shewn, that it destroys the Bonds of natural Affection and Interest, whereby Mankind in general are united; that it introduces Idleness, discourages Marriage, corrupts the Youth, ruins and debauches Morals, excites continual Apprehensions of Dangers, and frequent Alarms, to which the Whites are necessarily exposed from so great an Encrease of a People, that, by their Bondage and Oppressions, become natural Enemies, yet, at the same time, are filling the Places, and eating the Bread of those who would be the Support and Security

of the Country. But as these, and many more Reflections of the same Kind, may occur to a considerate Mind, I shall only endeavour to shew, from the Nature of the Trade, the Plenty which *Guiney* affords its Inhabitants, the barbarous Treatment of the *Negroes*, and the Observations made thereon by Authors of Note, that it is inconsistent with the plainest Precepts of the Gospel, the Dictates of Reason, and every common Sentiment of Humanity.

In an Account of the *European* Settlements in *America*, printed in *London*, 1757, the Author, speaking on this Subject, says, ‘ The
 ‘ *Negroes* in our Colonies endure a Slavery
 ‘ more compleat, and attended with far worse
 ‘ Circumstances, than what any People in
 ‘ their Condition suffer in any other Part of
 ‘ the World, or have suffered in any other
 ‘ Period of Time : Proofs of this are not
 ‘ wanting. The prodigious Waste which we
 ‘ experience in this unhappy Part of our Species,
 ‘ is a full and melancholy Evidence of
 ‘ this Truth. The Island of *Barbados* (the
 ‘ *Negroes* upon which do not amount to
 ‘ Eighty Thousand) notwithstanding all the
 ‘ Means which they use to encrease them by
 ‘ Propagation, and that the Climate is in every
 ‘ Respect (except that of being more
 ‘ whole-

' wholesome) exactly resembling the Cli-
 ' mate from whence they come ; notwith-
 ' standing all this, *Barbados* lies under a
 ' Necessity of an annual Recruit of Five
 ' Thousand Slaves, to keep up the Stock at
 ' the Number I have mentioned. This pro-
 ' digious Failure, which is at least in the same
 ' Proportion in all our Islands, shews demon-
 ' stratively that some uncommon and unsup-
 ' portable Hardship lies upon the *Negroes*,
 ' which wears them down in such a surprizing
 ' Manner ; and this, I imagine, is principal-
 ' ly the excessive Labour which they under-
 ' go.' In an Account of Part of *North-Ame-*
rica, published by *Thomas Jeffery*, printed
 1761, speaking of the Usage the *Negroes*
 receive in the *West-India* Islands, thus ex-
 presses himself: ' It is impossible for a human
 ' Heart to reflect upon the Servitude of these
 ' Dregs of Mankind, without in some Mea-
 ' sure feeling for their Misery, which ends
 ' but with their Lives.—Nothing can be
 ' more wretched than the Condition of this
 ' People. One would imagine, they were
 ' framed to be the Disgrace of the human
 ' Species, banished from their Country, and
 ' deprived of that Blessing Liberty, on which
 ' all other Nations set the greatest Value ; they
 ' are in a Manner reduced to the Condition

‘ of Beasts of Burden : In general a few
 ‘ Roots, Potatoes especially, are their Food,
 ‘ and two Rags, which neither screen them
 ‘ from the Heat of the Day, nor the extraor-
 ‘ dinary Coolness of the Night, all their Co-
 ‘ vering ; their Sleep very short ; their Labour
 ‘ almost continual ; they receive no Wages,
 ‘ but have Twenty Lashes for the smallest
 ‘ Fault.’

A confiderate young Person, who was late
 in one of our *West-India* Islands, where he
 observed the miserable Situation of the *Ne-
groes*, makes the following Remarks : ‘ I
 ‘ meet with daily Exercise, to see the Treat-
 ‘ ment which these miserable Wretches meet
 ‘ with from their Masters, with but few Ex-
 ‘ ceptions. They whip them most unmer-
 ‘ cifully, on small Occasions. They beat
 ‘ them with thick Clubs, and you will see
 ‘ their Bodies all whaled and scatred ; in
 ‘ short, they seem to set no other Value on
 ‘ their Lives, than as they cost them so much
 ‘ Money ; and are not restrained from killing
 ‘ them, when angry, by a worthier Confi-
 ‘ deration, than that they lose so much.
 ‘ They act as though they did not look upon
 ‘ them as a Race of human Creatures, who
 ‘ have Reason, and Remembrance of Mis-
 ‘ fortunes, but as Beasts, like Oxen, who
 ‘ are

' are stubborn, hardy and senseless ; fit for
 ' Burdens, and designed to bear them. They
 ' won't allow them to have any Claim to hu-
 ' man Privileges, or scarce, indeed, to be
 ' regarded as the Work of God. Though it
 ' was consistent with the Justice of our Ma-
 ' ker to pronounce the Sentence on our com-
 ' mon Parent, and through him on all suc-
 ' ceeding Generations, *That he and they should*
 ' *eat their Bread by the Sweat of their Brows ;*
 ' yet does it not stand recorded, by the same
 ' eternal Truth, *That the Labourer is worthy*
 ' *of his Hire?* It cannot be allowed, in na-
 ' tural Justice, that there should be a Servi-
 ' tude without Condition ; a cruel endless
 ' Servitude. It cannot be reconcileable to na-
 ' tural Justice, that whole Nations, nay,
 ' whole Continents of Men, should be de-
 ' voted to do the Drudgery of Life for others,
 ' be dragged away from their Attachments of
 ' Relations and Societies, and made to serve
 ' the Appetites and Pleasures of a Race of
 ' Men, whose Superiority has been obtained
 ' by an illegal Force.'

A particular Account of the Treatment
 these unhappy *Africans* receive in the *West-*
Indies, was lately published, which, even by
 those who, blinded by Interest, seek Excuses
 for the Trade, and endeavour to palliate the

Cruelty exercised upon them, is allowed to be a true, though rather too favourable, Representation of the Usage they receive, which is as follows, *viz.* ‘ The Iniquity of the ‘ Slave-trade is greatly aggravated by the In- ‘ humanity with which the *Negroes* are treat- ‘ ed in the Plantations, as well with Respect ‘ to Food and Cloathing, as from the unrea- ‘ sonable Labour which is commonly exact- ‘ ed from them. To which may be added ‘ the cruel Chastisements they frequently suf- ‘ fer, without any other Bounds, than the ‘ Will and Wrath of their hard Task-ma- ‘ sters. In *Barbados*, and some other of the ‘ Islands, six Pints of *Indian* Corn, and three ‘ Herrings, are reckoned a full Week’s Al- ‘ lowance for a working Slave; and in the ‘ System of Geography it is said, *That in* ‘ *Jamaica the Owners of the Negroe Slaves,* ‘ *set aside for each a Parcel of Ground, and* ‘ *allow them Sundays to manure it, the Pro-* ‘ *duce of which, with sometimes a few Her-* ‘ *rings, or other salt Fish, is all that is allow-* ‘ *ed for their Support.* Their Allowance for ‘ Cloathing in the Islands is seldom more ‘ than six Yards of Ozenbrigs each Year; ‘ And in the more Northern Colonies, where ‘ the piercing westerly Winds are long and ‘ sensibly felt, these poor *Africans* suffer ‘ much

‘ much for Want of sufficient Cloathing, in-
 ‘ deed some have none till they are able to
 ‘ pay for it by their Labour. The Time
 ‘ that the *Negroes* work in the *West-Indies*,
 ‘ is from Day-break till Noon ; then again
 ‘ from Two o’ Clock till Dusk (during which
 ‘ Time they are attended by Overseers, who
 ‘ severely scourge those who appear to them
 ‘ dilatory) and before they are suffered to go
 ‘ to their Quarters, they have still something
 ‘ to do, as collecting of Herbage for the
 ‘ Horses, gathering Fuel for the Boilers, &c.
 ‘ so that it is often Half past Twelve before
 ‘ they can get Home, when they have scarce
 ‘ Time to grind and boil their *Indian* Corn ;
 ‘ whereby it often happens that they are cal-
 ‘ led again to Labour before they can satisfy
 ‘ their Hunger : And here no Delay or Ex-
 ‘ cuse will avail, for if they are not in the
 ‘ Field immediately upon the usual Notice,
 ‘ they must expect to feel the Overseer’s Lash.
 ‘ In Crop-time (which lasts many Months)
 ‘ they are obliged (by Turns) to work most
 ‘ of the Night in the Boiling-house. Thus
 ‘ their Owners, from a Desire of making the
 ‘ greatest Gain by the Labour of their Slaves,
 ‘ lay heavy Burdens on them, and yet feed
 ‘ and cloath them very sparingly, and some
 ‘ scarce feed or cloath them at all ; so that the
 ‘ poor

‘ poor Creatures are obliged to shift for their
 ‘ Living in the best Manner they can, which
 ‘ occasions their being often killed in the
 ‘ neighbouring Lands, stealing Potatoes, or
 ‘ other Food, to satisfy their Hunger. And
 ‘ if they take any Thing from the Plantation
 ‘ they belong to, though under such pres-
 ‘ sing Want, their Owners will correct them
 ‘ severely, for taking a little of what they
 ‘ have so hardily laboured for, whilst they
 ‘ themselves riot in the greatest Luxury and
 ‘ Excess.—It is a Matter of Astonishment,
 ‘ how a People who, as a Nation, are look-
 ‘ ed upon as generous and humane, and so
 ‘ much value themselves for their uncom-
 ‘ mon Sense of the Benefit of Liberty, can
 ‘ live in the Practice of such extreme Op-
 ‘ pression and Inhumanity, without seeing
 ‘ the Inconsistency of such Conduct, and
 ‘ without feeling great Remorse; Nor is it
 ‘ less amazing to hear these Men calmly
 ‘ making Calculations about the Strength and
 ‘ Lives of their Fellow-Men; in *Jamaica*,
 ‘ if six in ten, of the new imported *Negroes*,
 ‘ survive the Seasoning, it is looked upon as
 ‘ a gaining Purchase: And in most of the
 ‘ other Plantations, if the *Negroes* live eight
 ‘ or nine Years, their Labour is reckoned a
 ‘ sufficient Compensation for their Cost.—

‘ If

‘ If Calculations of this Sort were made upon
 ‘ the Strength and Labour of Beasts of Bur-
 ‘ den, it would not appear so strange, but even
 ‘ then a merciful Man would certainly use
 ‘ his Beast with more Mercy than is usually
 ‘ shewn to the poor *Negroes*.—Will not the
 ‘ Groans of this deeply afflicted and oppres-
 ‘ sed People reach Heaven, and, when the
 ‘ Cup of Iniquity is full, must not the ine-
 ‘ vitable Consequence be pouring forth of the
 ‘ Judgments of God upon their Oppressors?
 ‘ But, alas! is it not too manifest that this Op-
 ‘ pression has already long been the Object
 ‘ of the Divine Displeasure? For what hea-
 ‘ vyer Judgment, what greater Calamity can
 ‘ befall any People, than to become a Prey
 ‘ to that Hardness of Heart, that Forgetful-
 ‘ ness of God, and Insensibility to every re-
 ‘ ligious Impression; as well as that general
 ‘ Depravation of Manners, which so much
 ‘ prevails in the Colonies, in Proportion as
 ‘ they have more or less enriched themselves,
 ‘ at the Expence of the Blood and Bondage
 ‘ of the *Negroes*?’

The Situation of the *Negroes* in our South-
 ern Provinces on the Continent, is also feel-
 ingly set forth by *George Whitefield*, in a Let-
 ter from *Georgia*, to the Inhabitants of *Ma-*
ryland, Virginia, North and South-Carolina,
 printed

printed in the Year 1739, of which the following is an Extract. ' As I lately passed
 ' through your Provinces, in my Way hither,
 ' I was sensibly touched with a Fellow-feeling of the Miseries of the poor *Negroes*.
 ' Whether it be lawful for Christians to buy
 ' Slaves, and thereby encourage the Nations
 ' from whom they are bought, to be at perpetual War with each other, I shall not
 ' take upon me to determine; sure I am, it
 ' is sinful, when bought, to use them as bad,
 ' nay worse, than as though they were Brutes;
 ' and whatever particular Exception there
 ' may be (as I would charitably hope there
 ' are some) I fear the Generality of you, that
 ' own *Negroes*, are liable to such a Charge;
 ' for your Slaves, I believe, work as hard, if
 ' not harder, than the Horses whereon you
 ' ride. These, after they have done their
 ' Work, are fed and taken proper Care of;
 ' but many *Negroes*, when wearied with Labour, in your Plantations, have been obliged to grind their own Corn, after they
 ' return home; your Dogs are caressed and
 ' fondled at your Tables; but your Slaves,
 ' who are frequently stiled Dogs or Beasts,
 ' have not an equal Privilege; they are scarce
 ' permitted to pick up the Crumbs which fall
 ' from their Master's Table.—Not to mention

' tion what Numbers have been given up to
 ' the inhuman Usage of cruel Task-masters,
 ' who, by their unrelenting Scourges, have
 ' ploughed their Backs, and made long Fur-
 ' rows, and at length brought them even to
 ' Death. When passing along, I have view-
 ' ed your Plantations cleared and cultivated,
 ' many spacious Houses built, and the Own-
 ' ers of them faring sumptuously every Day,
 ' my Blood has frequently almost run cold
 ' within me, to consider how many of your
 ' Slaves had neither convenient Food to eat,
 ' or proper Raiment to put on, notwithstand-
 ' ing most of the Comforts you enjoy were
 ' solely owing to their indefatigable Labours.
 ' —The Scripture says, Thou shalt not muz-
 ' zel the Ox that treadeth out the Corn.
 ' Does God take Care for Oxen; and will
 ' he not take Care of the *Negroes* also? Un-
 ' doubtedly he will.—Go to now ye rich
 ' Men, weep and howl for your Miseries
 ' that shall come upon you: Behold the Pro-
 ' vision of the poor *Negroes*, who have reap-
 ' ed down your Fields, which is by you de-
 ' nied them, crieth; and the Cries of them
 ' which reaped, are entered into the Ears of
 ' the Lord of Sabaoth. We have a remark-
 ' able Instance of God's taking Cognizance
 ' of, and avenging, the Quarrel of poor
 ' Slaves,

‘ Slaves, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 1. There was a Fa-
 ‘ mine in the Days of *David*, three Years,
 ‘ Year after Year; and *David* enquired of
 ‘ the Lord: And the Lord answered, It is
 ‘ for *Saul*, and his bloody House, because
 ‘ he slew the *Gibeonites*. Two Things are
 ‘ here very remarkable: *First*, These *Gibe-*
 ‘ *onites* were only Hewers of Wood, and
 ‘ Drawers of Water; or, in other Words,
 ‘ Slaves like yours. *Secondly*, That this
 ‘ Plague was sent by God many Years after
 ‘ the Injury, the Cause of the Plague, was
 ‘ committed. And for what End were this
 ‘ and such like Examples recorded in holy
 ‘ Scriptures? without Doubt, for our Learn-
 ‘ ing.—For God is the same To-day, as he
 ‘ was Yesterday, and will continue the same
 ‘ for ever. He does not reject the Prayer
 ‘ of the Poor and Destitute; nor disregard
 ‘ the Cry of the meanest *Negroe*. The
 ‘ Blood of them spilt for these many Years,
 ‘ in your respective Provinces, will ascend up
 ‘ to Heaven against you.’

Some who have only seen *Negroes* in an
 abject State of Slavery, broken-spirited and
 dejected, knowing nothing of their Situation
 in their native Country, may apprehend, that
 they are naturally insensible of the Benefits
 of Liberty, being destitute and miserable in
 every

every Respect, and that our suffering them to live amongst us (as the *Gibeonites* of old were permitted to live with the *Israelites*) though even on more oppressive Terms, is to them a Favour; but these are certainly erroneous Opinions, with Respect to far the greatest Part of them: Although it is highly probable, that in a Country which is more than Three Thousand Miles in Extent from North to South, and as much from East to West, there will be barren Parts, and many Inhabitants more uncivilized and barbarous than others; as is the Case in all other Countries: Yet, from the most authentic Accounts, the Inhabitants of *Guiney* appear, generally speaking, to be an industrious, humane, sociable People, whose Capacities are naturally as enlarged, and as open to Improvement, as those of the *Europeans*; and that their Country is fruitful, and in many Places well improved, abounding in Cattle, Grain and Fruits: And as the Earth yields all the Year round a fresh Supply of Food, and but little Cloathing is requisite, by Reason of the continual Warmth of the Climate; the Necessaries of Life are much easier procured in most Parts of *Africa*, than in our more Northern Climes. This is confirmed by many Authors of Note, who have resided

resided there ; among others M. *Adanson*, in his Account of *Gorée* and *Senegal*, in the Year 1754, says, ‘ Which Way soever I turned my Eyes on this pleasant Spot, I beheld a perfect Image of pure Nature ; an agreeable Solitude, bounded on every Side by charming Landscapes, the rural Situation of Cottages in the Midst of Trees ; the Ease and Indolence of the *Negroes*, reclined under the Shade of their spreading Foliage ; the Simplicity of their Dress and Manners ; the whole revived in my Mind the Idea of our first Parents, and I seemed to contemplate the World in its primitive State : They are, generally speaking, very good-natured, sociable and obliging. I was not a little pleased with this my first Reception ; it convinced me, that there ought to be a considerable Abatement made in the Accounts I had read and heard every where of the savage Character of the *Africans*. I observed, both in *Negroes* and *Moors*, great Humanity and Sociableness, which gave me strong Hopes that I should be very safe amongst them, and meet with the Success I desired, in my Enquiries after the Curiosities of the Country.’

William Bosman, a principal Factor for the *Dutch*, who resided Sixteen Years in *Guiney*,
speaking

speaking of the Natives of that Part where he then was, says, ' They are generally a good Sort of People, honest in their Dealings ;' others he describes as ' being generally friendly to Strangers, of a mild Conversation, affable, and easy to be overcome with Reason.' He adds, ' That some *Negroes*, who have had an agreeable Education, have manifested a Brightness of Understanding equal to any of us.' Speaking of the Fruitfulness of the Country, he says, ' It was very populous, plentifully provided with Corn, Potatoes and Fruit, which grew close to each other ; in some Places a Foot-Path is the only Ground that is not covered with them, the *Negroes* leaving no Place, which is thought fertile, uncultivated ; and immediately after they have reaped, they are sure to sow again.' Other Parts he describes as ' being full of Towns and Villages, the Soil very rich, and so well cultivated as to look like an entire Garden, abounding in Rice, Corn, Oxen and Poultry, and the Inhabitants laborious.'

William Smith, who was sent by the *African* Company to visit their Settlements on the Coast of *Guiney*, in the Year 1726, gives much the same Account of the Country of *Delmina* and *Cape-Corse*, &c. for Beauty

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and

and Goodness, and adds, ‘ The more you
 ‘ come downward towards that Part called
 ‘ *Slave-Coast*, the more delightful and rich
 ‘ the Soil appears.’ Speaking of their Dispo-
 sition, he says, ‘ They were a civil, good-na-
 ‘ tured People, industrious to the last Degree.
 ‘ It is easy to perceive what happy Memories
 ‘ they are blessed with, and how great Pro-
 ‘ gress they would make in the Sciences,
 ‘ in case their Genius was cultivated with
 ‘ Study.’ He adds, from the Information he
 received of one of the Factors, who had re-
 sided ten Years in that Country, ‘ That the
 ‘ discerning Natives account it their greatest
 ‘ Unhappiness, that they were ever visited
 ‘ by the *Europeans*—That the Christians in-
 ‘ troduced the Traffic of Slaves, and that be-
 ‘ fore our coming they lived in Peace.’

Andrew Brue, a principal Man in the
French Factory, in the Account he gives of
 the great River *Senegal*, which runs many
 Hundred Miles up the Country, tells his
 Readers, ‘ The farther you go from the Sea,
 ‘ the Country on the River seems more fruit-
 ‘ ful and well improved. It abounds in *Gui-*
 ‘ *ney* and *Indian* Corn, Rice, Pulse, Tobacco,
 ‘ and Indico. Here are vast Meadows, which
 ‘ feed large Herds of great and small Cattle;
 ‘ Poultry are numerous, as well as wild Fowl.’

The

The same Author, in his Travels to the South of the River *Gambia*, expresses his Surprise, to
 ‘ see the Land so well cultivated ; scarce a Spot
 ‘ lay unimproved ; the low Grounds, divided
 ‘ by small Canals, were all sowed with Rice ;
 ‘ the higher Ground planted with *Indian* Corn,
 ‘ Millet, and Peas of different Sorts ; Beef and
 ‘ Mutton very cheap, as well as all other Necessaries of Life.’ The Account this Author gives of the Disposition of the Natives, is, ‘ That they are generally good-natured
 ‘ and civil, and may be brought to any Thing
 ‘ by fair and soft Means.’ *Artus*, speaking of the same People, says, ‘ They are a sincere,
 ‘ inoffensive People, and do no Injustice either
 ‘ to one another or Strangers.’

From these Accounts, both of the good Disposition of the Natives, and the Fruitfulness of most Parts of *Guiney*, which are confirmed by many other Authors, it may well be concluded, that their Acquaintance with the *Europeans* would have been a Happiness to them, had those last not only bore the Name, but indeed been influenced by the Spirit of Christianity. But, alas ! how hath the Conduct of the Whites contradicted the Precepts and Example of Christ ? Instead of promoting the End of his coming, by preaching the Gospel of Peace and good Will to

Man, they have, by their Practices, contributed to inflame every noxious Passion of corrupt Nature in the *Negroes*; they have incited them to make War one upon another, and for this Purpose have furnished them with prodigious Quantities of Ammunition and Arms, whereby they have been hurried into Confusion, Bloodshed, and all the Extremities of temporal Misery, which must necessarily beget in their Minds such a general Detestation and Scorn of the Christian Name, as may deeply affect, if not wholly preclude, their Belief of the great Truths of our holy Religion. Thus an insatiable Desire of Gain hath become the principal and moving Cause of the most abominable and dreadful Scene, that was perhaps ever acted upon the Face of the Earth; even the Power of their Kings hath been made subservient to answer this wicked Purpose; instead of being Protectors of their People, these Rulers, allured by the tempting Bait laid before them by the *European* Factors, &c. have invaded the Liberties of their unhappy Subjects, and are become their Oppressors.

Divers Accounts have already appeared in Print declarative of the shocking Wickedness with which this Trade is carried on; these may not have fallen into the Hands of some
of

of my Readers, I shall, therefore, for their Information, select a few of the most remarkable Instances that I have met with, shewing the Method by which the Trade is commonly managed all along the *African Coast*.

Francis Moor, Factor to the *African Company* on the River *Gambia*, relates, ‘ That when the King of *Barsalli* wants Goods, &c. he sends a Messenger to the *English* Governor, at *James’ Fort*, to desire he would send up a Sloop with a Cargo of Goods ; which (says the Author) the Governor never fails to do : Against the Time the Vessel arrives, the King plunders some of his Enemies Towns, selling the People for such Goods as he wants.—If he is not at War with any neighbouring King, he falls upon one of his own Towns, and makes bold to sell his own miserable Subjects.’

N. Brue, in his Account of the Trade, &c. writes, ‘ That having received a Quantity of Goods, he wrote to the King of the Country, That if he had a sufficient Number of Slaves, he was ready to trade with him. This Prince (says that Author) as well as other *Negro* Monarchs, has always a sure Way of supplying his Deficiencies, by selling his own Subjects.—The King had Recourse to this Method, by seizing Three

‘ Hundred of his own People, and sent Word
 ‘ to *Brue*, that he had the Slaves ready to de-
 ‘ liver for the Goods.’

The Misery and Bloodshed, consequent of the Slave-Trade, is amply set forth by the following Extracts of two Voyages to the Coast of *Guiney*, for Slaves. The first in a Vessel from *Liverpool*, taken *verbatim* from the original Manuscript of the Surgeon’s Journal, *viz.*

‘ *Sestro*, December the 29th, 1724. No
 ‘ Trade To-day, though many Traders come
 ‘ on board; they inform us, that the People are
 ‘ gone to War within Land, and will bring
 ‘ Prisoners enough in two or three Days;
 ‘ in Hopes of which we stay.

‘ The 30th. No Trade yet, but our Trad-
 ‘ ers came on board To-day, and informed
 ‘ us, the People had burnt four Towns of
 ‘ their Enemies, so that To-morrow we ex-
 ‘ pect Slaves off. Another large Ship is come
 ‘ in. Yesterday came in a large *Londoner*.

‘ The 31st. Fair Weather, but no Trade
 ‘ yet; we see each Night Towns burning;
 ‘ but we hear the *Sestro* Men are many of
 ‘ them killed by the Inland *Negroes*, so that
 ‘ we fear this War will be unsuccessful.

‘ The 2d *January*. Last Night we saw a
 ‘ prodigious Fire break out about Eleven
 ‘ o’ Clock;

‘ o’ Clock ; and this Morning see the Town
 ‘ of *Sestro* burnt down to the Ground (it
 ‘ contained some Hundreds of Houses) so
 ‘ that we find their Enemies are too hard for
 ‘ them at present, and, consequently, our
 ‘ Trade spoiled here ; so that about Seven
 ‘ o’ Clock we weighed Anchor, as did like-
 ‘ wise the three other Vessels, to proceed
 ‘ lower down.’

The second Relation, also taken from the
 original Manuscript Journal of a Person of
 Credit, who went Surgeon, on the same Ac-
 count, in a Vessel from *New-York* to the
 Coast of *Guiney*, about eighteen Years past,
 is as follows, *viz.* ‘ Being on the Coast, at a
 ‘ Place called *Basalia*, the Commander of
 ‘ the Vessel, according to Custom, sent a
 ‘ Person on Shore with a Present to the King,
 ‘ acquainting him with his Arrival, and letting
 ‘ him know, they wanted a Cargo of Slaves.
 ‘ The King promised to furnish them with
 ‘ Slaves ; and, in order to do it, set out to
 ‘ go to War against his Enemies ; designing
 ‘ also to surprise some Town, and take all the
 ‘ People Prisoners : Some Time after, the
 ‘ King sent them Word, he had not yet met
 ‘ with the desired Success, having been twice
 ‘ repulsed, in attempting to break up two
 ‘ Towns ; but that he still hoped to procure a

‘ Number of Slaves for them; and in this
 ‘ Design he persisted till he met his Enemies
 ‘ in the Field, where a Battle was fought,
 ‘ which lasted three Days, during which Time
 ‘ the Engagement was so bloody, that four
 ‘ Thousand five Hundred Men were slain on
 ‘ the Spot.’ The Person that wrote the Ac-
 count beheld the Bodies, as they lay on the
 Field of Battle. ‘ Think (says he in his
 ‘ Journal) what a pitiable Sight it was, to see
 ‘ the Widows weeping over their lost Hus-
 ‘ bands, Orphans deploring the Loss of their
 ‘ Fathers, &c. &c.’

Those, who are acquainted with the Trade,
 agree, that many *Negroes* on the Sea Coast,
 who have been corrupted by their Intercourse
 and Converse with the *European* Factors, have
 learnt to stick at no Act of Cruelty for Gain.
 These make it a Practice to steal Abundance
 of little Blacks of both Sexes, when found
 on the Roads, or in the Fields, where their
 Parents keep them all Day to watch the Corn,
 &c. Some Authors say, the *Negro* Factors
 go six or seven Hundred Miles up the Coun-
 try with Goods, bought from the *Europeans*,
 where Markets of Men are kept in the same
 Manner as those of Beasts with us; when the
 poor Slaves, whether brought from far or
 near, come to the Sea-shore, they are stripped
 naked,

naked, and strictly examined by the *European* Surgeons, both Men and Women, without the least Distinction or Modesty; those which are approved as good, are marked with a red hot Iron, with the Ship's Mark, after which they are put on board the Vessels, the Men being shackled with Irons, two and two together. Reader, bring the Matter Home, and consider whether any Situation in Life can be more completely miserable than that of those distressed Captives. When we reflect, that each Individual of this Number had some tender Attachment, which was broken by this cruel Separation; some Parent or Wife, who had not an Opportunity of mingling Tears in a parting Embrace; perhaps some Infant, or aged Parent, whom his Labour was to feed, and Vigilance protect; themselves under the dreadful Apprehension of an unknown perpetual Slavery; pent up within the narrow Confines of a Vessel, sometimes six or seven Hundred together, where they lie as close as possible. Under these complicated Distresses they are often reduced to a State of Desperation, wherein many have leaped into the Sea, and have kept themselves under Water, till they were drowned; others have starved themselves to Death, for the Prevention whereof some Masters of Vessels have
cut

cut off the Legs and Arms of a Number of those poor desperate Creatures, to terrify the rest. Great Numbers have also frequently been killed, and some deliberately put to Death, under the greatest Torture, when they have attempted to rise, in order to free themselves from their present Misery, and the Slavery designed them. An Instance of the last Kind appears particularly in an Account given by the Master of a Vessel, who brought a Cargo of Slaves to *Barbados*; indeed it appears so irreconcilable to the common Dictates of Humanity, that one would doubt the Truth of it, had it not been related by a serious Person, of undoubted Credit, who had it from the Captain's own Mouth. Upon an Enquiry, What had been the Success of his Voyage? he answered, ' That he had
 ' found it a difficult Matter to set the *Negroes*
 ' a fighting with each other, in order to procure the Number he wanted; but that when
 ' he had obtained this End, and had got his
 ' Vessel filled with Slaves, a new Difficulty
 ' arose from their Refusal to take Food; those
 ' desperate Creatures chusing rather to die
 ' with Hunger, than to be carried from their
 ' native Country.' Upon a farther Enquiry, by what Means he had prevailed upon them to forego this desperate Resolution, he answered,

ed, 'That he obliged all the *Negroes* to come
 ' upon Deck, where they persisting in their
 ' Resolution of not taking Food, he caused
 ' his Sailors to lay Hold upon one of the most
 ' obstinate, and chopt the poor Creature in-
 ' to small Pieces, forcing some of the others
 ' to eat a Part of the mangled Body ; withal
 ' swearing to the Survivors, that he would
 ' use them all, one after the other, in the
 ' same Manner, if they did not consent to eat.'
 This horrid Execution he applauded as a good
 Act, it having had the desired Effect, in
 bringing them to take Food.

A similar Case is mentioned in *Astley's* Col-
 lection of Voyages, by *John Atkins*, Surgeon
 on board Admiral *Ogle's* Squadron, ' of one
 ' *Harding*, Master of a Vessel, in which se-
 ' veral of the Men Slaves, and a Woman
 ' Slave, had attempted to rise, in order to
 ' recover their Liberty ; some of whom the
 ' Master, of his own Authority, sentenced to
 ' cruel Death, making them first eat the
 ' Heart and Liver of one of those he killed.
 ' The Woman he hoisted by the Thumbs,
 ' whipped and slashed with Knives before the
 ' other Slaves, till she died.'

As detestable and shocking as this may ap-
 pear to such, whose Hearts are not yet har-
 dened by the Practice of that Cruelty, which
 the

the Love of Wealth, by Degrees, introduceth into the human Mind ; it will not be strange to those who have been concerned or employed in the Trade. Now here arises a necessary Query to those who hold the Ballance and Sword of Justice, and who must account to God for the Use they have made of it. Since *our English Law is so truly valuable for its Justice*, how can they overlook these barbarous Deaths of the unhappy *Africans* without Trial, or due Proof of their being guilty of Crimes adequate to their Punishment ? Why are those Masters of Vessels (who are often not the most tender and considerate of Men) thus suffered to be the sovereign Arbiters of the Lives of the miserable *Negroes* ; and allowed, with Impunity, thus to destroy, may I not say murder, their Fellow-Creatures, and that by Means so cruel, as cannot be even related but with Shame and Horror.

When the Vessels arrive at their destined Port in the Colonies, the poor *Negroes* are to be disposed of to the Planters, and here they are again exposed naked, without any Distinction of Sexes, to the brutal Examination of their Purchasers ; and this, it may well be judged, is to many of them another Occasion of deep Distress, especially to the Females : Add to this, that near Connections must now
again

again be separated, to go with their several Purchasers. In this melancholy Scene, Mothers are seen hanging over their Daughters, bedewing their naked Breasts with Tears, and Daughters clinging to their Parents, not knowing what new Stage of Distress must follow their Separation, or if ever they shall meet again; and here what Sympathy, what Commiseration are they to expect? why, indeed, if they will not separate as readily as their Owners think proper, the Whipper is called for, and the Lash exercised upon their naked Bodies, till obliged to part.

Can any human Heart, that retains a Fellow-feeling for the Sufferings of Mankind, be unconcerned at Relations of such grievous Affliction, to which this oppressed Part of our Species are subjected! God gave to Man Dominion over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowls of the Air, and over the Cattle, &c. but imposed no involuntary Subjection of one Man to another.

The Truth of this Position has of late been clearly set forth, by Persons of Reputation and Ability, particularly *George Wallis*, in his System of the Laws of *Scotland*, whose Sentiments are so worthy the Notice of all considerate Persons, that I shall here repeat a
Part

Part of what he has not long since published, concerning the *African Trade*, viz.

‘ If this Trade admits of a moral or a rational Justification, every Crime, even the most atrocious, may be justified : Government was instituted for the Good of Mankind. Kings, Princes, Governors, are not Proprietors of those who are subjected to their Authority ; they have not a Right to make them miserable. On the contrary, their Authority is vested in them, that they may, by the just Exercise of it, promote the Happiness of their People : Of Course, they have not a Right to dispose of their Liberty, and to sell them for Slaves : Besides, no Man has a Right to acquire or to purchase them : Men and their Liberty are not either saleable or purchasable, one therefore has Nobody but himself to blame, in case he shall find himself deprived of a Man, whom he thought he had, by buying for a Price, made his own ; for he dealt in a Trade which was illicit, and was prohibited by the most obvious Dictates of Humanity. For these Reasons, every one of those unfortunate Men, who are pretended to be Slaves, has a Right to be declared to be free, for he never lost his Liberty ; he could not lose it ;
his

' his Prince has no Power to dispose of him ;
 ' of Course the Sale was void. This Right
 ' he carries about with him, and is intitled
 ' every where to get it declared. As soon,
 ' therefore, as he comes into a Country, in
 ' which the Judges are not forgetful of their
 ' own Humanity, it is their Duty to remem-
 ' ber that he is a Man, and to declare him to
 ' be free.—This is the Law of Nature, which
 ' is obligatory on all Men, at all Times, and
 ' in all Places.—Would not any of us, who
 ' should be snatched by Pirates from his na-
 ' tive Land, think himself cruelly abused, and
 ' at all Times intitled to be free? Have not
 ' these unfortunate *Africans*, who meet with
 ' the same cruel Fate, the same Right? Are
 ' not they Men as well as we, and have they
 ' not the same Sensibility? Let us not, there-
 ' fore, defend or support a Usage, which is
 ' contrary to all the Laws of Humanity.'

Francis Hutcheson also, in his System of
 Moral Philosophy, speaking on the Subject of
 Slavery, says, ' He who detains another by
 ' Force in Slavery, is always bound to prove
 ' his Title. The Slave sold or carried away
 ' into a distant Country, must not be obliged
 ' to prove a Negative, That he never for-
 ' feited his Liberty. The violent Possessor
 ' must, in all Cases, shew his Title, especially
 ' where

' where the old Proprietor is well known.
 ' In this Case each Man is the original Pro-
 ' prietor of his own Liberty: The Proof of
 ' his losing it must be incumbent on those,
 ' who deprived him of it by Force. Strange
 ' (says the same Author) that in any Nation,
 ' where a Sense of Liberty prevails, where
 ' the Christian Religion is professed, Custom,
 ' and high Prospect of Gain, can so stupify the
 ' Consciences of Men, and all Sense of na-
 ' tural Justice, that they can hear such Com-
 ' putation made about the Value of their Fel-
 ' low-Men, and their Liberty, without Ab-
 ' horrence and Indignation!

The noted Baron *Montesquieu* gives it, as
 his Opinion, in his *Spirit of Law*, Page 348,
 ' That nothing more assimilates a Man to a
 ' Beast than living amongst Freemen, himself
 ' a Slave; such People as these are the natural
 ' Enemies of Society, and their Number must
 ' always be dangerous.'

The Author of a Pamphlet, lately printed
 in *London*, intituled, *An Essay in Vindication*
of the Continental Colonies of America, writes,
 ' That the Bondage we have imposed on the
 ' *Africans*, is absolutely repugnant to Justice.
 ' That it is highly inconsistent with civil Po-
 ' licy: *First*, as it tends to suppress all Im-
 ' provements in Arts and Sciences; without
 ' which

' which it is morally impossible that any Na-
 ' tion should be happy or powerful. *Secondly*,
 ' as it may deprave the Minds of the Free-
 ' men; steeling their Hearts against the lau-
 ' dable Feelings of Virtue and Humanity.
 ' And, *lastly*, as it endangers the Communi-
 ' ty, by the destructive Effects of civil Com-
 ' motions; need I add to these (says that
 ' Author) what every Heart, which is not
 ' callous to all tender Feelings, will readily
 ' suggest; that it is shocking to Humanity,
 ' violative of every generous Sentiment, ab-
 ' horrent utterly from the Christian Religion;
 ' for as *Montesquieu* very justly observes, *We*
 ' *must suppose them not to be Men, or a Suspi-*
 ' *cion would follow that we ourselves are not*
 ' *Christians.*—There cannot be a more dan-
 ' gerous Maxim, than that Necessity is a Plea
 ' for Injustice. For who shall fix the Degree
 ' of this Necessity? What Villain so atroci-
 ' ous, who may not urge this Excuse; or, as
 ' *Milton* has happily expressed it,

' ————— *And with Necessity,*
 ' *The Tyrant's Plea, excuse his devilish Deed?*

' That our Colonies want People, is a very
 ' weak Argument for so inhuman a Violation
 ' of Justice.—Shall a civilized, a Christian
 ' Nation encourage Slavery, because the bar-

'barous, savage, lawless *African*, hath done
 'it? Monstrous Thought! To what End do
 'we profess a Religion whose Dictates we so
 'flagrantly violate? Wherefore have we that
 'Pattern of Goodness and Humanity, if we
 'refuse to follow it? How long shall we con-
 'tinue a Practice, which Policy rejects, Ju-
 'stice condemns, and Piety dissuades? Shall
 'the *Americans* persist in a Conduct, which
 'cannot be justified; or persevere in Oppres-
 'sion, from which their Hearts must recoil?
 'If the barbarous *Africans* shall continue to
 'enslave each other, let the Dæmon Slavery
 'remain among them, that their Crime may
 'include its own Punishment. Let not Chri-
 'stians, by administering to their Wickedness,
 'confess their Religion to be a useless Refine-
 'ment, their Profession vain, and themselves
 'as inhuman as the Savages they detest.'

James Foster, in his *Discourses on Natural Religion and Social Virtue*, also shews his just Indignation at this wicked Practice, which he declares to be *a criminal and outrageous Violation of the natural Right of Mankind*. At Page 156, 2d Vol. he says, 'Should we have
 'read concerning the *Greeks* or *Romans* of
 'old, that they traded, with View to make
 'Slaves of their own Species, whom they
 'certainly knew that this would involve in
 'Schemes

‘ Schemes of Blood and Murder, of destroy-
 ‘ ing or enslaving each other, that they even
 ‘ fomented Wars, and engaged whole Na-
 ‘ tions and Tribes in open Hostilities, for
 ‘ their own private Advantage; that they had
 ‘ no Detestation of the Violence and Cruelty;
 ‘ but only feared the ill Success of their in-
 ‘ human Enterprizes; that they carried Men
 ‘ like themselves, their Brethren, and the Off-
 ‘ spring of the same common Parent, to be sold
 ‘ like Beasts of Prey, or Beasts of Burden; and
 ‘ put them to the same reproachful Trial of
 ‘ their Soundness, Strength and Capacity for
 ‘ greater bodily Service; that quite forgetting
 ‘ and renouncing the original Dignity of hu-
 ‘ man Nature, communicated to all, they
 ‘ treated them with more Severity and ruder
 ‘ Discipline, than even the Ox or the Ass,
 ‘ who are void of Understanding;—should
 ‘ we not, if this had been the Case, have
 ‘ naturally been led to despise all their *pre-*
 ‘ *tended Refinements of Morality*; and to have
 ‘ concluded, that as they were not Nations
 ‘ destitute of Politeness, they must have been
 ‘ *intire Strangers to Virtue and Benevolence*.

‘ But, notwithstanding this, we ourselves
 ‘ (who profess to be Christians, and boast of
 ‘ the peculiar Advantage we enjoy, by means
 ‘ of an express Revelation of our Duty from
 C 2 ‘ Heaven)

‘ Heaven) are, in Effect, these very untaught
 ‘ and rude Heathen Countries. With all our
 ‘ superior Light, we instil into those, whom
 ‘ we call savage and barbarous, the most de-
 ‘ spicable Opinion of human Nature. We,
 ‘ to the utmost of our Power, weaken and
 ‘ dissolve the universal Tie, that binds and
 ‘ unites Mankind. We practise what we
 ‘ should exclaim against, as the utmost Ex-
 ‘ cess of Cruelty and Tyranny, if Nations of
 ‘ the World, differing in Colour, and Form
 ‘ of Government from ourselves, were so pos-
 ‘ sessed of Empire, as to be able to reduce us
 ‘ to a State of unmerited and brutish Servi-
 ‘ tude. Of Consequence, we sacrifice our
 ‘ Reason, our Humanity, our Christianity, to
 ‘ an unnatural sordid Gain. We teach other
 ‘ Nations to despise, and trample under Foot,
 ‘ all the Obligations of social Virtue. We
 ‘ take the most effectual Method to prevent
 ‘ the Propagation of the Gospel, by represent-
 ‘ ing it as a Scheme of Power and barbarous
 ‘ Oppression, and an Enemy to the natural
 ‘ Privileges and Rights of Men.

‘ Perhaps, all that I have now offered,
 ‘ may be of very little Weight to restrain this
 ‘ Enormity, this aggravated Iniquity. How-
 ‘ ever, I shall still have the Satisfaction, of hav-
 ‘ ing entered my private Protest against a Prac-
 ‘ tice,

‘ tice, which, in my Opinion, bids that God,
 ‘ who is the God and Father of the Gentiles,
 ‘ unconverted to Christianity, most daring and
 ‘ bold Defiance, and spurns at all the Prin-
 ‘ ciples, both of natural and revealed, Reli-
 ‘ gion.’

How the *British* Nation first came to be concerned in a Practice, by which the Rights and Liberties of Mankind are so violently infringed, and which is so opposite to the Apprehensions *Englishmen* have always had of what natural Justice requires, is indeed surprising. It was about the Year 1563, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that the *English* first engaged in the *Guiney* Trade; when it appears, from an Account in *Hill's Naval History*, Page 293, That when Captain *Hawkins* returned from his First Voyage to *Africa*, that generous spirited Princess, attentive to the Interest of her Subjects, sent for the Commander, to whom she expressed her Concern, lest any of the *African* Negroes should be carried off without their free Consent, *declaring it would be detestable, and call down the Vengeance of Heaven upon the Undertakers.* Captain *Hawkins* promised to comply with the Queen's Injunction: Nevertheless, we find in the Account, given in the same History, of *Hawkins's* Second Voyage,

the Author using these remarkable Words, *Here began the horrid Practice of forcing the Africans into Slavery.*

Labut, a Roman Missionary, in his Account of the Isles of *America*, at Page 114, of the 4th Vol. mentions, that *Lewis* the 13th, Father to the present *French* King's Grandfather, was extremely uneasy at a Law, by which all the *Negroes* of his Colonies were to be made Slaves; but it being strongly urged to him, as the readiest Means for their Conversion to Christianity, he acquiesced therewith.

And although we have not many Accounts of the Impressions which this piratical Invasion of the Rights of Mankind gave to serious minded People, when first engaged in, yet it did not escape the Notice of some, who might be esteemed in a peculiar Manner as Watchmen, in their Day, to the different Societies of Christians, whereunto they belonged. *Richard Baxter*, an eminent Preacher amongst the Nonconformists, in the last Century, well known, and particularly esteemed by most of the serious Presbyterians and Independents, in his *Christian Directory*, mostly wrote about an Hundred Years ago, fully shews his Detestation of this Practice, in the following Words, ' Do you not mark how
' God

‘ God hath followed you with Plagues, and
 ‘ may not Conscience tell you, that it is for
 ‘ your Inhumanity to the Souls and Bodies of
 ‘ Men?—To go as Pirates, and catch up poor
 ‘ *Negroes*, or People of another Land, that ne-
 ‘ ver forfeited Life or Liberty, and to make
 ‘ them Slaves, and sell them, is one of the
 ‘ worst Kinds of Thievery in the World, and
 ‘ such Persons are to be taken for the com-
 ‘ mon Enemies of Mankind; and they that
 ‘ buy them, and use them as Beasts, for their
 ‘ meer Commodity, and betray, or destroy,
 ‘ or neglect their Souls, are fitter to be called
 ‘ Devils than Christians. It is an heinous Sin
 ‘ to buy them, unless it be in Charity to de-
 ‘ liver them.—Undoubtedly they are present-
 ‘ ly bound to deliver them; because, by Right,
 ‘ the Man is his own; therefore no Man else
 ‘ can have a just Title to him.’

We also find *George Fox*, a Man of ex-
 emplary Piety, who was the principal Instru-
 ment in gathering the religious Society of
 People, called Quakers, expressing his Con-
 cern and Fellow-feeling for the Bondage of
 the *Negroes*: In a Discourse taken from his
 Mouth, in *Barbados*, in the Year 1671, he
 says, ‘ Consider with yourselves, if you were
 ‘ in the same Condition as the Blacks are,—
 ‘ who came Strangers to you, and were sold

‘ to you as Slaves; I say, if this should be
 ‘ the Condition of you or yours, you would
 ‘ think it hard Measure: Yea, and very great
 ‘ Bondage and Cruelty. And, therefore,
 ‘ consider seriously of this, and do you for
 ‘ and to them, as you would willingly have
 ‘ them, or any other, to do unto you, were
 ‘ you in the like slavish Condition, and bring
 ‘ them to know the Lord Christ.’ And in
 his Journal, Page 431, speaking of the Ad-
 vice he gave his Friends at *Barbados*, he says,
 ‘ I desired also, that they would cause their
 ‘ Overseers to deal mildly and gently with
 ‘ their *Negroes*, and not to use Cruelty towards
 ‘ them, as the Manner of some had been,
 ‘ and that after certain Years of Servitude
 ‘ they should make them free.’

In a Book printed in *Liverpool*, called *The
 Liverpool Memorandum Book*, which contains,
 among other Things, an Account of the
 Trade of that Port, there is an exact List of
 the Vessels employed in the *Guiney* Trade,
 and of the Number of Slaves imported in
 each Vessel, by which it appears, that in the
 Year 1753, the Number imported to *Ame-
 rica*, by Vessels belonging to that Port,
 amounted to upwards of Thirty Thousand;
 and, from the Number of Vessels employed
 by the *African* Company, in *London* and *Bri-
 stol*,

fol, we may, with some Degree of Certainty, conclude there are, at least, One Hundred Thousand *Negroes* purchased and brought on board our Ships yearly from the Coast of *Africa*, on their Account. This is confirmed in *Anderson's* History of Trade and Commerce, printed the Year before last, where it is said, at Page 68 of the Appendix, ' *That England supplies her American Colonies with Negroe-slaves, amounting in Number to above One Hundred Thousand every Year.*' When the Vessels are full freighted with Slaves, they set out for our Plantations in *America*, and may be Two or Three Months on the Voyage, during which Time, from the Filth and Stench that is among them, Distempers frequently break out, which carry off a great many, a Fifth, a Fourth, yea sometimes a Third of them; so that taking all the Slaves together, that are brought on board our Ships yearly, one may reasonably suppose, that at least Ten Thousand of them die on the Voyage. And in a printed Account of the State of the *Negroes* in our Plantations, it is supposed that a Fourth Part, more or less, die at the different Islands, in what is called the Seasoning. Hence it may be presumed, that, at a moderate Computation of the Slaves, who are purchased by our *African* Merchants
in

in a Year, near Thirty Thousand die upon the Voyage, and in the Seasoning. Add to this, the prodigious Number who are killed in the Incurfions and intestine Wars, by which the *Negroes* procure the Number of Slaves wanted to load the Vessels: How dreadful then is the Slave-Trade, whereby so many Thousands of our Fellow-Creatures, free by Nature, endued with the same rational Faculties, and called to be Heirs of the same Salvation with us, lose their Lives, and are truly, and properly speaking, murdered every Year. For it is not necessary, in order to convict a Man of Murder, to make it appear, that he had an Intention to commit Murder. Whoever does, by unjust Force or Violence, deprive another of his Liberty, and, while he has him in his Power, reduces him, by cruel Treatment, to such a Condition as evidently endangers his Life, and the Event occasions his Death, is actually guilty of Murder. It is no less shocking to read the Accounts given by Sir *Hans Sloan*, and others, of the inhuman and unmerciful Treatment those Blacks meet with, who survive the Seasoning in the Islands, often for Transgressions, to which the Punishment they receive bears no Proportion. ‘ And the horrid Executions, which are frequently made there
‘ upon

' upon Discovery of the Plots laid by the
 ' Blacks, for the Recovery of their Liberty ;
 ' of some they break the Bones, whilst alive,
 ' on a Wheel ; others they burn, or rather
 ' roast to Death ; others they starve to Death,
 ' with a Loaf hanging before their Mouths.'
 Thus they are brought to expire, with fright-
 ful Agonies, in the most horrid Tortures. For
 Negligence only they are unmercifully whip-
 ped, till their Backs are raw, and then Pepper
 and Salt are scattered on the Wounds to height-
 en the Pain, and prevent Mortification. Is it
 not a Cause of much Sorrow and Lamenta-
 tion, that so many poor Creatures should be
 thus racked with excruciating Tortures, for
 Crimes which often their Tormentors have oc-
 casioned. Must not even the common Feelings
 of human Nature have suffered some grievous
 Change in those Men, to be capable of such
 horrid Cruelty towards their Fellow-Men ?
 If they deserve Death, ought not their Judg-
 es, in the Death decreed them, always to re-
 member that these their hapless Fellow-Crea-
 tures are Men, and themselves professing
 Christians. The *Mosaic* law teaches us our
 Duty in these Cases, in the merciful Provision
 it made in the Punishment of Transgressors,
Deuter. xxv. 2. And it shall be, if the wicked
Man be worthy to be beaten, that the Judge shall
cause

cause him to lie down, and to be beaten before his Face, according to his Fault, by a certain Number, Forty Stripes he may give him, and not exceed. And the Reason rendered is out of Respect to human Nature, viz. *Lest if he should exceed, and beat him above these, with many Stripes, then thy Brother should seem vile unto thee.* Britons boast themselves to be a generous, humane People, who have a true Sense of the Importance of Liberty; but is this a true Character, whilst that barbarous, savage Slave-trade, with all its attendant Horrors, receives Countenance and Protection from the Legislature, whereby so many Thousand Lives are yearly sacrificed? Do we indeed believe the Truths declared in the Gospel? Are we persuaded that the Threatnings, as well as the Promises therein contained, will have their Accomplishment? If indeed we do, must we not tremble to think what a Load of Guilt lies upon our Nation generally and individually, so far as we in any Degree abet or countenance this aggravated Iniquity?

We have a memorable Instance in History, which may be fruitful of Instruction, if timely and properly applied; it is a Quotation made by Sir *John Temple*, in his History of the *Irish* Rebellion, being an Observation out of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, a noted Author, who

who lived about Six Hundred Years ago, concerning the Causes of the Prosperity of the *English* Undertakings in *Ireland*, when they conquered that Island; he saith, ' That a Synod, or Council of the Clergy, being then assembled at *Armagh*, and that Point fully debated, it was unanimously agreed, that the Sins of the People were the Occasion of that heavy Judgment then fallen upon their Nation; and that especially their buying of *Englishmen* from Merchants and Pirates, and detaining them under a most miserable hard Bondage, had caused the Lord, by Way of just Retaliation, to leave them to be reduced, by the *English*, to the same State of Slavery. Whereupon they made a public Act in that Council, that all the *English*, held in Captivity throughout the whole Land, should be presently restored to their former Liberty.'

I shall now conclude with an Extract from an Address of a late Author to the Merchants, and others, who are concerned in carrying on the *Guiney* Trade: Which also, in a great Measure is applicable to others, who, for the Love of Gain, are in any Way concerned in promoting or maintaining the Captivity of the *Negroes*.

' As the Business, you are publicly carrying on before the World, has a bad Aspect,
' and

‘ and you are sensible most Men make Objec-
 ‘ tions against it, you ought to justify it to the
 ‘ World, upon Principles of Reason, Equity
 ‘ and Humanity; to make it appear, that it is
 ‘ no unjust Invasion of the Persons, or En-
 ‘ croachments on the Rights of Men; or for
 ‘ ever to lay it aside.—But laying aside the Re-
 ‘ sentment of Men, which is but of little or no
 ‘ Moment, in Comparison with that of the Al-
 ‘ mighty, think of a future Reckoning; con-
 ‘ sider how you shall come off in the great
 ‘ and awful Day of Accompt: You now
 ‘ heap up Riches, and live in Pleasure; but,
 ‘ oh! what will you do in the End thereof?
 ‘ and that is not far off. What if Death
 ‘ should seize upon you, and hurry you out
 ‘ of this World, under all that Load of Blood-
 ‘ guiltiness, that now lies upon your Souls?
 ‘ The Gospel expressly declares, that Thieves
 ‘ and Murderers shall not inherit the King-
 ‘ dom of God. Consider, that at the same
 ‘ time, and by the same Means, you now
 ‘ treasure up worldly Riches, you are treasur-
 ‘ ing up to yourselves Wrath, against the Day
 ‘ of Wrath, and Vengeance, that shall come
 ‘ upon the Workers of Iniquity, unless pre-
 ‘ vented by a timely Repentance.

‘ And what greater Iniquity, what Crime
 ‘ that is more heinous, that carries in it more
 ‘ compli-

‘ complicated Guilt, can you name than that,
 ‘ in the habitual, deliberate Practice of which
 ‘ you now live? How can you lift up your
 ‘ guilty Eyes to Heaven? How can you pray
 ‘ for Mercy to him that made you, or hope
 ‘ for any Favour from him that formed you,
 ‘ while you go on thus grossly and openly to
 ‘ dishonour him, in debasing and destroying
 ‘ the noblest Workmanship of his Hands in
 ‘ this lower World? He is the Father of
 ‘ Men; and do you think he will not resent
 ‘ such Treatment of his Offspring, whom he
 ‘ hath so loved, as to give his only begotten
 ‘ Son, that whosoever believeth in him might
 ‘ not perish, but have everlasting Life? This
 ‘ Love of God to Man, revealed in the Go-
 ‘ spel, is a great Aggravation of your Guilt;
 ‘ for if God so loved us, we ought also to love
 ‘ one another. You remember the Fate of
 ‘ the Servant, who took hold of his Fellow-
 ‘ Servant, who was in his Debt, by the Throat,
 ‘ and cast him into Prison: Think then, and
 ‘ tremble to think, what will be your Fate,
 ‘ who take your Fellow Servants by the
 ‘ Throat, that owe you not a Penny, and
 ‘ make them Prisoners for Life.

‘ Give yourselves Leave to reflect impar-
 ‘ tially upon, and consider the Nature of, this
 ‘ *Man-Trade*, which, if you do, your Hearts
 ‘ must

‘ must needs relent, if you have not lost all
‘ Sense of Humanity, all Pity and Compas-
‘ sion towards those of your own Kind, to
‘ think what Calamities, what Havock and
‘ Destruction among them, you have been
‘ the Authors of, for filthy Lucre’s Sake.
‘ God grant you may be sensible of your Guilt,
‘ and repent in Time.’

EXTRACT

E X T R A C T
O F A
S E R M O N,

PREACHED BY THE
BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER,

Before the SOCIETY for the PROPAGATION of
the GOSPEL, at their Anniversary Meeting, on
the 21st of *February*, 1766.

‘ FROM the Free-Savages I now come
‘ (the last Point I propose to consider)
‘ to the Savages in Bonds. By these I mean
‘ the vast Multitudes yearly stolen from the
‘ opposite Continent, and sacrificed by the
‘ Colonists to their great Idol, the GOD OF
‘ GAIN. But what then, say these sincere
‘ Worshipers of *Mammon*, they are our
‘ own Property, which we offer up. Gra-
‘ cious God! to talk (as in Herds of Cattle)
‘ of Property in rational Creatures! Crea-
‘ tures endowed with all our Faculties, pos-
‘ sessing

' fessing all our Qualities but that of Colour;
 ' our Brethren both by Nature and Grace,
 ' shocks all the Feelings of Humanity, and
 ' the Dictates of Common Sense. But, alas!
 ' what is there in the infinite Abuses of So-
 ' ciety which does not shock them? Yet no-
 ' thing is more certain in itself, and apparent
 ' to all, than that the infamous Traffic for
 ' Slaves directly infringes both divine and
 ' human Law. Nature created Man free;
 ' and Grace invites him to assert his Free-
 ' dom. In Excuse of this Violation, it hath
 ' been pretended, That though indeed these
 ' miserable Outcasts of Humanity be torn
 ' from their Homes and native Country by
 ' Fraud and Violence, yet they thereby be-
 ' came the happier, and their Condition the
 ' more eligible. But who are Y o u, who
 ' pretend to judge of another Man's Happi-
 ' ness? That State, which each Man, under
 ' the Guidance of his Maker, forms for him-
 ' self; and not one Man for another. To
 ' know what constitutes mine or your Happi-
 ' ness, is the sole Prerogative of him who
 ' created us, and cast us in so various and dif-
 ' ferent Moulds. Did your Slaves ever com-
 ' plain to you of their Unhappiness amidst
 ' their native Woods and Desarts? Or, ra-
 ' ther, let me ask, did they ever cease com-
 ' plaining

' plaining of their Condition under you their
 ' Lordly Masters? where they see, indeed,
 ' the Accommodations of civil Life, but see
 ' them all pass to others, themselves unbene-
 ' fited by them. Be so gracious then, ye
 ' petty Tyrants over human Freedom, to let
 ' your Slaves judge for themselves, what it is
 ' which makes their own Happiness. And
 ' then see whether they do not place it in the
 ' Return to their own Country, rather than
 ' in the Contemplation of your Grandeur, of
 ' which their Misery makes so large a Part.
 ' A Return so passionately longed for, that
 ' despairing of Happiness here, that is, of
 ' escaping the Chains of their cruel Task-
 ' masters, they console themselves with feign-
 ' ing it to be the gracious Reward of Heaven
 ' in their future State; which I do not find
 ' their haughty Masters have as yet concerned
 ' themselves to invade. The less hardy in-
 ' deed wait for this Felicity till overwearied
 ' Nature sets them free; but the more re-
 ' solved have Recourse even to Self-violence,
 ' to force a speedier Passage.

' But it will be still urged, that though
 ' what is called human Happiness be of so
 ' fantastic a Nature, that each Man's Imagi-
 ' nation creates it for himself, yet human Mi-
 ' sery is more substantial and uniform through-
 ' out

' out all the Tribes of Mankind. Now, from
 ' the worst of human Miseries, the savage
 ' *Africans*, by these forced Emigrations, are
 ' intirely secured, such as the being perpe-
 ' tually hunted down like Beasts of Prey or
 ' Profit, by their more savage and powerful
 ' Neighbours—In Truth, a blessed Change!
 ' —from being hunted to being caught. But
 ' who are they that have set on Foot this ge-
 ' neral HUNTING? Are they not these very
 ' civilized Violators of Humanity themselves?
 ' who tempt the weak Appetites, and pro-
 ' voke the wild Passions of the fiercer Savages
 ' to prey upon the rest.'



THE END.

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